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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial. 128

I. Birth and Infancy

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The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

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In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokо or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ábanad-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ĉma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. The Moral Code

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [71] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings